/Ona cont./

of girls in the *Klóketen* ceremony.

Naturally, the girls who are pledged to the youth initiation have shortly before shown signs of physical maturity. Hence the latter is always present when the question of marriage becomes serious (4). Mental maturity of both sexes is emphatically

> 4. Hyades (I):573 observed that "a young girl of 12 or 13 years, not yet communing, was abducted by a Fuegian who wished to marry her, although he already had one wife" /translated from French/. This single case proves nothing against the generally valid principle, nor does it reveal under what conditions this man took the girl, perhaps it was the sister or niece of his wife. From a casual wish to an actual marriage is a long way, even among the Yaghan.

required. This may be deduced from the fact that instruction at the *Klóketen* must unquestionably have preceded the marriage. Included instruction is the mutual obligations of both partners. A Shaman once told me: "First each one must know what work he must do and how he must behave, before he can get married." He was thinking, as he said, of the customary division of labor and of the almost equal position of each marriage partner in the family union.

By the time the marriageable young people are sufficiently enlightened about sex life to know that it is one of the chief purposes of marriage to begat children. Adults in Tierra del Fuego would never provide the so-called sexual enlightenment of youth before the /Ona/ proper stage of physical development is reached. The nearer one is to maturity, the more definitely and clearly parents and close relatives point out that the union of the two sexes produces the child. Nothing is definitely said, as I learned, about conception itself. Instead, the girl, in connection with her first menstruation, is instructed in detail on the care and handling of an infant. For their part, the young boys in the *Klóketen* are admonished to give the future wife all the proper consideration during

/Ch1 cont./

[1] behave and what her confinement. I could not discover the specific words that were used. Every young Fuegian learns the meaning of the sexual act for himself, not by direct instruction, but by observing animals and by comparing his body with that of the opposite sex. He is aided in this by the only meagre body covering and by the intimacy of Fuegian life. As [2] they do not seek sexual enjoyment in the sexual act. "Sex comes later, after it has been named a number of times," old Julia confessed. A further reason is that in the years before physical maturity and marriage, the two sexes, even brothers and sisters, seem remote apart, which restores desire.

[3] It cannot be denied, however, that girls after puberty and boys after the youth initiation are purposefully, albeit unconspicuously, prepared for all the events and obligations of married life. First they are given many suggestions and repeated admonitions. They are told: "When you are married you must no longer dawdle about in such a careless manner! -- Later you must always have a supply of moss for [4] your wife and your children. -- Always be kind to your wife, for she gives you children. -- Do not quarrel with your husband, otherwise he will go to another hut and you will have to sleep alone in your hut. In the end he will be unfaithful to you, after he has slept several nights in the hut of another family!" I am indebted to Gusinde for these words. Such admonitions unconsciously change the entire mental attitude of the young person toward the forthcoming start of his new life in marriage. He thinks about it more often and finally himself finds the more or less clumsy, but adequate explanation for many physiological facts which he observes [5] from his own body.

[6] Meanwhile, inevitably, the awareness of a still unnoticed fulfillment of physical and spiritual being increases to a passionate desire for a partner in marriage. "When the young people have been released from the [7] [illegible], they cannot bear to live unmarried much longer. Some were all the more excited and perturbed the longer they must wait for a marriage partner," Alfredo emphasized. "Now and then there is a girl who is quite uncontrolled in her behavior and who will suddenly throw herself into the arms of any boy because she does not want to live alone any longer, she longs for a husband and [8] her children!"

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not contradict what Bridges asserted: "Youths of 19 and 20 you would frequently mistake for 14 and 15. For instance, Tyrnuran. I had thought him to be 13 or 14, but on looking over my registration of births I find he will be twenty years old in August... This and many similar cases tend to show that a hard life and short commons delay the growth" /cited in English/ (Mid. [illegible], 115:1886). I cannot agree with this conclusion.

In the following account we have in mind those children who are slowly developing their mental power until, at puberty, they enter the youth initiation required of everyone.

1. Separation of the Sexes

In Tierra del Fuego, as in Europe, the little creature in the so-called neutral age of childhood is regarded as "sexless," for, without objection, it is permitted to romp about everywhere completely naked and, in its innocence, can relieve its natural needs in full view of other people. No adult would dream of making fun/unsettling remarks about the unconscious behavior of infants or of covering up their toiletdoors before the eyes of others. With candid naturalness the mother feeds her darling at her breast, just as she would feed him a small piece of roasted fat. Our Fuegians show an entirely healthy and straightforward attitude toward such natural things.

/788/ This conduct changes as soon as the child has completed approximately his fourth year, for now it enters into what Franz Hilt has called the "bisexual age of childhood." Now the sexual character begins to assert itself, and the child himself begins to take it into account. He is now guided by his awakening awareness of himself, since parents and adults almost never offer instruction or admonition. Instead, they see to it that the child covers his sexual parts, and they adjust the little apron if it has

/738 cont./

• 864 been pushed out of place, but never add any particular warning. Unobtrusively the mother draws her small daughter closer in the hut and takes her darling silently by the hand when she goes to gather mussels or wood; the boys then automatically remain apart and stay behind. Thus the children unconsciously take it for granted that boys and girls are separated, and in neither of the two groups is the wish to be together and to play together awakened unnecessarily and prematurely.

It does not long remain hidden from either of them how distinctly different they are externally, for the so-called clothing is scant enough. It is not until their seventh year that the children must expect short and definite warnings if boys conspicuously approach girls. Even forward boys seem to avoid any comments among themselves on sexual differences. Alfredo confessed to me: "Every boy at some time or other realizes that he is [built] different [sexually] from the girl. Now he watches very sharply, but does not talk about it with anyone, although he sometimes feels lustful pleasure [in his discovery]." These words indicate the awakening of knowledge about the body.

593 Since during most of the year the individual family is dependent on its own resources, the brothers and sisters have only each other and no other company. Thus it is strange that a brotherly and sisterly love in our sense of the word does not appear among the Fuegians, any more than it does among the neighboring Selk'nam (Vol. I, 393). Since the children of the same parents associate only with one another for long stretches, one would expect a particularly strong and intensified mutual love; instead he finds just the opposite. A very strong tendency toward self-reliance and independence characterizes the child from its earliest years. This one must admit. This alone, however, does not explain why a strong feeling of solidarity among the children of the same family does not seem to arise at all. They rarely play together, nor do they confer about carrying out some prank together or making mischief. Each of the brothers and sisters actually feels best when he is by himself and can entertain himself just as he pleases. One can plainly see how each one of them entertains himself animatedly and how happily he gets along by himself. /739/ Should one of his brothers or sisters approach him, it would disturb his quiet

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•864 During the periods when the children of several families are staying in the same place, the two sexes are required to remain apart. The boys are summarily told to do this, usually by their father but also by other men, and the girls by their own mother. Now and then it is emphasized, in fact, repeated under threats. Thus I heard it said: "The boys belong together, and the girls should remain among themselves."

"There is nothing for a boy where girls are playing."

"You, my boy, should look for other boys to play with; the girls are playing by themselves, too."

"You are planning something improper if you agree to meet that girl [the name is given] alone in the woods. I'll /740/ punish you severely if I catch you at it." This threat was directed at Roger, one of Calderon's sons. Calderon is not very careful in bringing up his wild rascals.

864 Older children are given a special warning. The father
842 says to his son: "If you go around with girls a great deal, you will have only girls as children later on when you live in your own hut, no boys!" The mother will warn her daughter similarly: "Stay far away from boys. If you are with them too much, you will later have only boys as children when you are a mother (180)!"

180. From these admonitions we may conclude that neither boys nor girls are more preferred by parents or welcomed with greater pleasure at birth. We have already spoken of this attitude (p. 504).

864 Adults are very strict about this rule. It is everyone's duty, so to speak, to interfere with admonitions and threats if necessary, no matter whether his own or other children are involved. They do not tire of being extraordinarily watchful if they notice that a child has a strong tendency toward secret meetings with others. Adults are quite frank in discussing such observations and call each other's attention to them. They are honestly concerned about guarding a child against moral infractions, since they know only too well what goes on secretly between two little culprits. In order to prevent such acts by a child who is

/740 cont./

• 864 not entirely to be trusted, the parents inconspicuously keep him busy and by their side when temptation is particularly great in a common campsite. As a rule, the Fuegians who are not yet somewhat degenerate themselves have a sharp eye and sound judgment for impending infractions and for the weaknesses of their children.

The children do not have much chance to evade the watchfulness of their parents as long as the family is traveling by itself. If several families are temporarily together in the same place, the eyes of all the adults are on the young people, and especially on the child whose conduct justifies suspicion. Since even little Fuegians are by no means angels, and in many a boy the urge toward improper conduct is stronger than the threats by the adults, he will try to meet a girl in some secret place. If his deed is uncovered, his parents seriously reprimand him and do not withhold a severe beating in order to bring the little culprit to his senses. An adult would not beat a strange child, but will complain to the child's parents.

The Yamana are much too sensible to keep children of the opposite sex apart because of exaggerated anxiety. No one prevents children from being together in public and in the open, but they do keep them from slipping away secretly and purposely avoiding any kind of observation.

864 /741/ When the boys are by themselves, they romp about
857 to their heart's content and sometimes behave rather offensively, which they would never dare to do in the presence of adults. They feel the greatest desire for this when they can take off their clothes on warm days and go completely naked. Playfully they smack each other on the buttocks and pass their hands lightly over the genitals, or they squirt water on these parts and point to them with their fingers. In all this they certainly do not go any further than schoolboys in Europe who are unsupervised. Boys usually frolic about in a very lively manner, without, however, shouting or making a lot of noise. No one prevents them from giving vent to their energy, as long as they are not nasty and obscene.

857 It is different where girls are playing among themselves; it is always quiet and calm. The very way in which they

/741 cont./

857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

•864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in conversation and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

2. Application of Training

861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Yamana are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality in which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intercede as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Fuegian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few aged representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /742/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately protecting it even up to the present time.

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861 The success of this training is assured in large part because it is adapted basically to the individual, and there is no mass instruction, even during the čiéxaus celebration. Instruction or correction is given in any specific instance according to the child's personal talents, its obvious shortcomings and weaknesses, and its highly individual naughtiness. "The teacher there does not forget which methods the child reacts to most favorably. In one case loud scolding, in another the withholding of food or a more pleading tone in the discussion of mistakes will bring results far more quickly than whippings or shutting a child up in the hut. I could cite many definite cases to illustrate all this" (Gusinde [5]:169), which I cannot list separately here.

864 As I have explained earlier (p. 391), it is not customary among the Yamana to give their children special instruction on the so-called facts of life at any age. Although adults are extraordinarily careful in sexual intercourse since there are almost always children present in the hut, nevertheless the children observe many things that make them think. They finally become quite fully informed from what they see. They are never told where new babies come from; in fact, as long as they are small, they are fooled with a "stork story."

When the midwife carries the newborn child in her arms, she joyfully shows /748/ it to its brothers and sisters and to other children who are in the vicinity. She says: "I have a little child here. Didn't you hear a little while ago that a baby was crying over there [she points with her head or finger in some direction]? Of course it cried very softly because it is still very small. I went over there and found the little baby. Here it is!" And again she shows it around. Some lively child will say naïvely: "Yes, I heard the little baby crying, too!" Whereupon the woman answers: "Well, that was this little baby that I'm carrying in my arms; I have fetched it!" Then a child will perhaps ask: "Where did I come from?" The woman will answer: "You came from over there [she points to some place]; X-kípa [she mentions the name of a woman who was perhaps present at the birth of the child asking the question] found you there and brought you to the hut!" Satisfied with this information, the child will talk with other children and tell them:

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864 "X-kipa found me over there when I was very little and brought me to the hut. Now this woman heard another little child crying over there in the woods [or behind those rocks, etc.] and brought it here; it is very small and will now stay with us'" The children are content with such explanations.

In later years their observations and impressions accumulate. When they reach puberty they know about the origin of little children, and neither girls nor boys need enlightenment. Adults [831] strictly avoid obscene talk and insinuating jokes in the presence of children, but the latter among themselves, discuss their observations of the sex life of others and draw their own conclusions. Several older persons assured me of this.

When a girl experiences her first menstruation she is generally and quite rightly assumed to be adequately informed about sex life. They now wish to protect her from illegitimate pregnancy. With puberty and even a few months before that, a period of special dangers begins for the girl, about which she is warned from all sides. Young boys are watched no less closely. Young people could easily succumb to the sexual urge; hence they are thoroughly alerted and alarmed by serious threats. The girls are often reminded: "If you associate with boys a lot, you will later give birth only to boys!" This suggestion is more effective than ethical explanations.

Parents and adults have allowed their children to associate only with their kind from the time they were small. They say quite frankly: "If we do not accustom our children early to the idea that boys associate only with boys and girls only with girls, we shall not be able to keep the two sexes apart later on. Then they will not obey their parents in spite of warnings and will engage in all kinds of secrecy!" If relatives and neighbors notice that a girl /749/ constantly meets a chap in hiding, they call her mother's attention to it. The latter will say to her daughter in a firm tone: "Do you have much to do with that boy?" Frightened, she will answer evasively: "No, I don't!" But the mother, quite rightly, does not trust this report and continues, as though she were serious: "No matter, but marry this boy soon and go off with him!" The mother's determined way of speaking is all the more effective since it comes as a surprise. The girl suddenly realizes that she is in a serious predicament, and in

/749 cont./

• 84 order to get out of it she is not content to be more careful in her meetings with a forward chap, but will stop seeing him altogether.

Sometimes, in order to keep a girl from illicit sexual relations, she is informed somewhat earlier about the things that are usually told her in the days of her menarche: "Men are murderers! If one of them lasciviously lies upon a girl, he kills her (184).

184. These words are meant to be a serious warning to intimidate girls. Every woman knows well enough that an unsuspecting creature who has yielded to her seducer will never be murdered by him.

So don't let any boy lie on top of you, not even if he is very insistent and says: 'It will be very nice!' Don't let a boy playfully put his hand on your body. Do not give yourself to him without resistance, even if you like very much to be touched by him'" The girl is earnestly given to understand that she must never consent to intercourse because an illegitimate pregnancy would cause many people disgrace.

Nelly and Calderon repeatedly assured me that they were not familiar with a single instance of this kind. If a girl had really slept with a boy, she would not have kept this from her mother for very long, since she is sufficiently aware of the consequences. They also told me that almost always a young wife will discuss her wedding night with her mother soon after the marriage.

Responsible men confidentially warn the boys: "Beware of a woman who invites you to follow her secretly to some hiding place. She will show you what she [her body] is like. There are lascivious women who would like to explain all kinds of things about their bodies to a boy, and in doing so they gratify their desires. Such women will cut off your penis, and that is terribly painful (185). Then you will not get a girl to become

185. These words, too, like the above warning to girls, are meant only to frighten the naïve and gullible.

/749 cont./

864 your wife later and you will have no children. This [the real reason for your not having children] will soon be generally known and you will be disgraced forever!"

Thus, fear and intimidation are important training measures which the Fuegians also use in order to keep their children within bounds at the time of /750/ turbulent sexual desire. When they are grown up and enlightened, they themselves make fun of their naïve guilelessness and their gullible trustfulness. For example, the young men will say among themselves: "When I was small they tried to frighten me and said to me: 'If you have anything to do with a woman she will cut off your penis!' Now I know that they only wanted to scare me off!" With their own children they, in turn, will use this same warning which old Alfredo revealed to me.

868 Precepts and admonitions are one aspect of education; the other consists of definite exercises and specific instruction in skill and manual dexterity. The boys are treated differently from the girls, in accordance with the division of labor prevailing in every family. This training is supposed to prepare them for the duties and particular sphere of work that await everyone. Until the child is three years old, it is entirely under its mother's care. From then on the father gradually draws his little son entirely to himself, plays with him, gives him errands, often calls on him to help, no matter how little, so that the child does not leave his side. Thus the boy learns about all his tools and types of work, observes him in all his activities and skills, and finally will have to test this and try out that. If he succeeds in his manipulations, he is praised; if he is still too awkward, he must repeat them and go on practicing until he feels secure. The demands that the father makes on his son increase step by step, and he is not really finished learning until he has reached marriageable age when he develops his full physical strength. An uncle will also keep after his nephew with much patience and tenacity, so that the boy will acquire enough dexterity and skill in the manipulation of weapons and tools, as well as in hunting, to be completely independent in obtaining food (186).

186. Despite some shortcomings in the following description, Bridges affirms that children

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415 ferent from the man's. Among other more used containers were: pouches of seal or penguin skin for holding small objects; bladders or windpipes of seals or porpoises for holding ocher and firestones; crops of geese and stomachs of seals for holding oil. (Cf. others in Lothrop, 1928, p. 133.)

412 **Tools.**—These have mostly been dealt with incidentally in the preceding sections. The hafted mussel-shell scraper, mentioned above under "Skin dressing," was also the common knife. Stone-headed daggers or knives were used by the earlier *Yahgan* (Cooper, 1917, p. 207). The stone celt or ax was lacking. Wedges were of bone; arrow polishers, of a bit of pumice.

411 **Weapons.**—The characteristic weapons used by the *Yahgan* both in hunting and in fighting were the spear and harpoon (fig. 11, *a–c*), the club, and the sling. The bow and arrow, in contrast to *Ona* usage, occupied a very subordinate position.

The spear shaft was quadrangular, hexagonal, octagonal, or decagonal in section, from 8 feet (2.5 m.) or less to 12 feet (4 m.) long; the shank, ordinarily of bone, with unilateral or bilateral single or serrate barbs and with notched tang, lashed to the split or slotted end of the shaft. The atlatl was absent. The harpoon, without toggle, was merely a spear with a detachable shank tied by a thong to the shaft. The club was a plain straight heavy stick. The cradle of the sling was of hide, the lines of braided whale gut.

Yahgan bows, arrows, and quivers closely resembled those of the *Ona*—a curved self bow, ranging from about 3 to 4 feet long, with string of seal hide or of braided seal, whale, or guanaco sinew; the arrow, without foreshaft, and with triangular stemmed and barbed head of stone, bone, or, more recently, glass; the quiver, rectangular, of skin, or tubular, of bark. Arrow poisoning was absent. Both archeological and ethnological evidence suggests that the *Yahgan* [179] most likely acquired the bow and arrow after their arrival in their historic habitat, from the *Ona*. (Cf. Bird, 1938, pp. 261–263; Cooper, 1917, pp. 211–213.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—The only method of fire making was by percussion with flint and pyrites, bird down or dried fungus serving as tinder. Fire was carried around in the canoe on a hearth of earth, shell, or stones. Two-pronged tongs were in use. Bark torches provided illumination. Fire was employed not only for cooking, heating, and lighting, but also for signaling, straightening arrow and spear shafts, bending canoe ribs, felling trees, preparing bark for canoes and material for baskets, and other purposes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

● 864 **Marriage and the family.**—The sexes were kept separate after about the age of 7 and were warned by their elders against sexual liberties.